

PRESIDENTIAL SUPPORT

Running on Empty

Few bills, but many nominees, approved last year

BY SHAWN ZELLER

NOTHING WORKED for Democrats in 2014. In the Senate, Majority Leader Harry Reid of Nevada tried to shield his caucus from tough votes, limiting amendments and keeping the agenda focused on only the issues that Democrats wanted to run on in November, such as equal pay for women and an increased minimum wage. It didn't help. Endangered Democrats in the South and West were hammered in the midterm elections for sticking with Reid and President Barack Obama.

In the House, Republican Speaker John A. Boehner of Ohio pushed through bill after bill designed to please the GOP's base and pressure moderate Democrats to pick sides. The bills aimed to scale back government regulation, overturn the 2010 health care law and overhaul the bureaucracy. While they died in the Senate, the GOP won its largest House majority since the 71st Congress of 1929-31.

For Obama, it meant that 2014 was a lost year for policy. With the Senate and House unable to agree on substantive issues beyond funding the government and a new farm bill, Obama had little to sign and nothing to veto. Gridlock on Capitol Hill was the dominant theme, except in one respect: The Senate voted to confirm a record number of judicial and executive nominees because a rule change made it hard to filibuster.

When the government is divided, especially a government riven by polarized parties, it's a recipe for gridlock, says Scot Schraufnagel, a political scientist at Northern Illinois University. "It's easier for the parties to pass the buck and say they're not accountable for the lack of action."

In most ways, the votes that Congress took in 2014 on the issues that Obama cared about back up that point. The average Senate Democrat voted with Obama on 95 percent

of the votes on which the president had a position, close to the record score of 96 percent in 2013. But the Republican House was setting records for its opposition to the president. Of 66 House votes on which Obama had a view in 2014, only 10 went Obama's way, a 15.2 percent success rate that is the lowest in the 61 years that CQ Roll Call has been tracking presidential success. The average Republican representative voted with Obama 12 percent of the time, matching the record low that the party set in 2013.

Because of the 60-vote threshold needed to advance controversial legislation, Obama also had a bad year in the Senate on policy votes. His 55 percent success rate on them was his lowest ever.

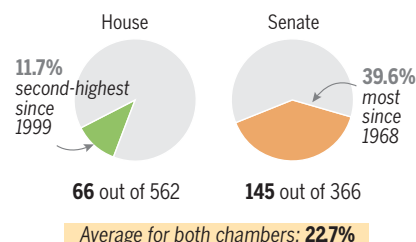
But look at the Senate voting more broadly and it tells a different story. When confirmation votes are added to the policy votes, Obama succeeded 93.1 percent of the time, the second-highest success score in the history of CQ's survey, trailing only Obama's 98.7 percent score in 2009, when he enjoyed a huge Democratic congressional majority. This time, it was the result of Senate Democrats' 2013 decision to drop the threshold for approving most judicial and executive branch nominees from 60 votes to a simple majority.

Reid took up 125 nominees, the most since CQ began tracking nomination votes in 1988. The Senate confirmed 124 of them, boosting senators' presidential support scores on both sides of the aisle. Republicans voted against Obama uniformly on the policy votes where the president had a view, but there were only 20 of those. Because many of the nominees were not controversial, the average Republican senator voted with Obama 55 percent of the time. That was the highest level of support from GOP senators since Obama took office.

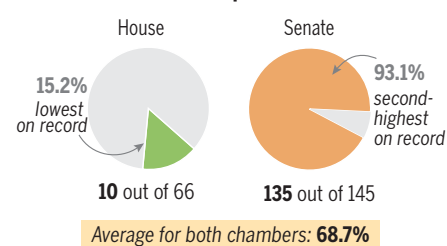
MIRROR IMAGES

President Barack Obama won on House votes at the lowest rate in the 61 years that CQ Roll Call has been tracking presidential votes. Because of a glut of nomination votes, Obama's Senate score was the second highest ever.

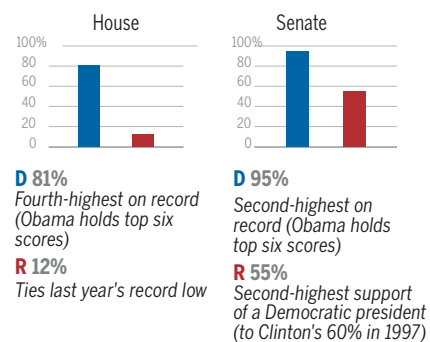
Share of votes on which the president took a clear position:



How often the president won:



Average chamber presidential support scores:





DEADLOCKED: Boehner, center, moved many bills in the House that helped Republicans but were never enacted. His predecessor as speaker, Nancy Pelosi, left, and Obama were left with little to show voters.

LITTLE TO SHOW

Obama was surely happy to have his nominees in place, but that didn't alter the reality that 2014 was one of the least productive legislative years in modern times.

The consensus politics that existed in the United States when CQ began its vote studies in 1953 is long over, as is the ideological overlap between the parties. The final remnants of it, the Southern Democrat and Northern Republican, are, with each election cycle, moving toward extinction. Without them, gridlock reigns, a function of polarization and an American system of government that allows both parties to control levers of power at the same time.

The ideological sorting of the electorate by region, combined with political parties that are now associated with clear positions on the issues, has made it increasingly difficult for mavericks to stand apart.

Consider the situation of Senate Democrats in 2014. Examining how often a senator supports the position of a president from the same party on the votes where the president has made his view known is usually a reliable way to separate the moderates from the partisans.

But in 2014, that wasn't so. A review of the leading scorers for presidential support reveals some oddities. Sure, one would expect a party leader like Democratic Whip Richard J. Durbin to head the list, and he did vote with Obama on every vote where the presi-

dent took a position in 2014. But, according to CQ's statistics, Democrat Tim Kaine of Virginia stuck just as close to Obama as Durbin did. And Kaine was a hair more loyal to Obama than Democrats who might normally seem fiercer partisans, such as Barbara Boxer of California or Charles E. Schumer of New York.

In reality, every Democrat in the Senate was sharply partisan in 2014. The lowest scorer, Joe Manchin III of West Virginia, sided with Obama on 89 percent of votes. The differences between senators often came down to a vote on a single judge or executive branch appointment.

It's so hard to use the presidential support study to make meaningful distinctions between Democratic senators in 2014 because Reid allowed so few votes on policy issues or amendments. The policy votes were typically on issues on which Democrats planned to run in 2014, such as ensuring equal pay for women or raising the minimum wage. Without amendments to make distinctions on tricky issues, those were easy yes votes for Democrats.

But Reid's legislative strategy, in the end, was a bust. The campaign turned not on the issues that Democratic senators tried to frame with their few policy votes but on Democrats' loyalty to Obama. And Republicans were eager to point out that on the vast majority of votes, losing incumbents including Mary L. Landrieu of Louisiana,

Guide to The Vote Studies

CQ Roll Call (previously Congressional Quarterly) has analyzed voting patterns of members of Congress since 1945. The three current studies — presidential support, party unity and voting participation — have been conducted in a consistent manner since 1953. This is how they are done:

Selecting votes CQ Roll Call bases its vote studies on all floor votes for which senators and House members were asked to vote "yea" or "nay." In 2014, there were 562 such roll call votes in the House and 366 in the Senate. The House total excludes the one quorum call in 2014 and one vote that was later vacated.

The House total counts all votes on procedural matters, including votes to approve the journal (eight in 2014). In the Senate, there was one vote to instruct the sergeant at arms to request senators to come to the floor.

The presidential support and party unity studies are based on a set of votes selected according to the criteria detailed on pages 31 and 41.

Individual scores Member scores are based only on the votes each actually cast. This makes individual support and opposition scores total 100 percent. The same method is used to identify the leading scorers on pages 30 and 40.

Overall scores To be consistent with previous years, calculations of average scores by chamber and party are based on all eligible votes, whether or not all members cast a "yea" or "nay." The lack of participation by lawmakers in a roll call vote reduces chamber and party average support and opposition scores. As a result, chamber and party averages are not strictly comparable with individual member scores, which are calculated differently. (*Methodology, 1987 Almanac, p. 22-C*)

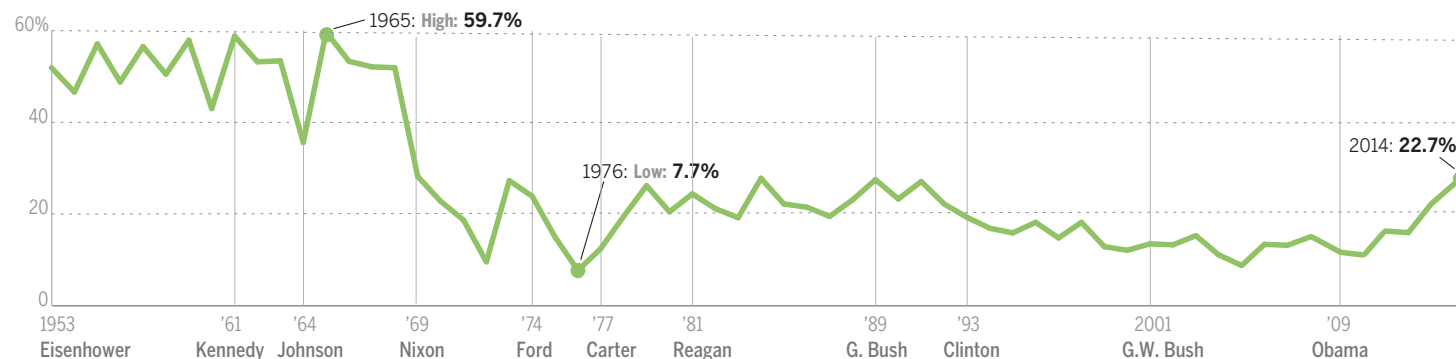
Rounding Scores in the tables that follow for the House and Senate membership are rounded to the nearest percentage point. Rounding, however, does not raise any score to 100 percent, nor does it reduce any score to zero. Scores for the presidential and party support leaders are reported to one decimal point in order to rank them more precisely.

— STATISTICAL RESEARCH
BY RYAN KELLY

Presidential Position Votes Rise in 2014

The share of roll call votes on which President Barack Obama took a clear position rose in 2014 to 22.7 percent, the highest level of his presidency. The president took a position on 13.4 percent of House roll call votes and on 39.6 percent of Senate roll calls (but just 8.3 percent when 125 votes on nominations are excluded).

Percentage of Presidential Support Votes, for Congress as a whole



Mark Pryor of Arkansas and Mark Begich of Alaska were aligned with the president. The nuance — that they'd hardly had a chance to distinguish themselves from more liberal colleagues — was lost.

“The electoral bet was that we can be Democrats like those in Minnesota or Massachusetts and still win in Louisiana or Arkansas,” says Steven Schier, a political science professor at Carleton College in Minnesota. For Democrats, it was a losing bet.

NO ROOM TO MANEUVER

That's not to say there was another way out for the endangered Senate Democrats. With the Democratic Party now viewed by the public as the party of liberalism, even moderates with voting records to back it up are having trouble persuading voters in red states and districts.

Consider the fate of those Southern Democrats in the House who did the opposite of their Senate counterparts, moving further away from Obama. It didn't help their case. Republicans beat up Democratic moderates again, defeating 11 incumbents and building their largest House majority since 1931.

In the 2014 election, Nick J. Rahall II of West Virginia, who had survived for 19 terms in the coal country of southern West Virginia, couldn't hold back the state's increasing Republican tilt. The Democrat moved as far from Obama as he ever had, dropping his support score to 30 percent from 58 percent the year before. He still lost by 11 percentage points to Evan Jenkins, a longtime Democratic state legislator who switched parties and painted Rahall as a shill for Obama.

It was a similar story for another Democrat, John Barrow, who failed to win a sixth term in a Georgia district around Augusta that had become more rural and Republican after the 2010 census. Although Barrow has long been one of Obama's least reliable Democratic supporters in the House — he voted with the president on less than one in four votes where Obama had a view in 2014 — he lost by 10 points to Rick Allen, a Republican newcomer to politics who painted Barrow and Obama as one and the same.

As the parties have strengthened and as the members of each party have coalesced around certain issue stances, it's harder for mavericks in either party to convince anyone that they're the exception. Even if they try, their opponents note that, in Washington, their presence is allowing far more conservative, or liberal, members to rule.

What lies ahead are two parties clustered around the ideological

poles, dominated by liberals on one end and conservatives on the other. The polarization, in and of itself, isn't the reason for the gridlock that pervades Washington. It's also a system that allows for divided government and for the minority to stand in the way of majority rule. But combine the two and little gets done.

The new Senate majority leader, Republican Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, plans to allow more votes on policy issues this year, potentially mixing up the voting patterns a bit. And when he opposes an Obama nomination, he doesn't need to bring it to the floor for a vote.

Fewer confirmation votes will bring down support scores for Obama on both sides of the aisle. More policy votes will allow Senate Republicans in Democratic-leaning states who are up for re-election in 2016, such as Mark S. Kirk in Illinois and Kelly Ayotte in New Hampshire, to distinguish themselves from more conservative colleagues. They've already taken the opportunity during the marathon voting over the Keystone XL pipeline in January. Both voted for amendments raising alarm about climate change, for instance. But as the plight of Barrow and Rahall makes clear, it may not save them.

The House's few remaining moderate Republicans face similar worries in 2015. Charlie Dent, a Pennsylvanian who expressed shock in 2013 when his colleagues decided to allow the government to shut down in order to take a stand on funding for the 2010 health care law, was gobsmacked again last month as the conservatives in his caucus again threatened to shut down the Homeland Security Department. In this case, they wanted to protest the president's move to grant legal status to more illegal immigrants.

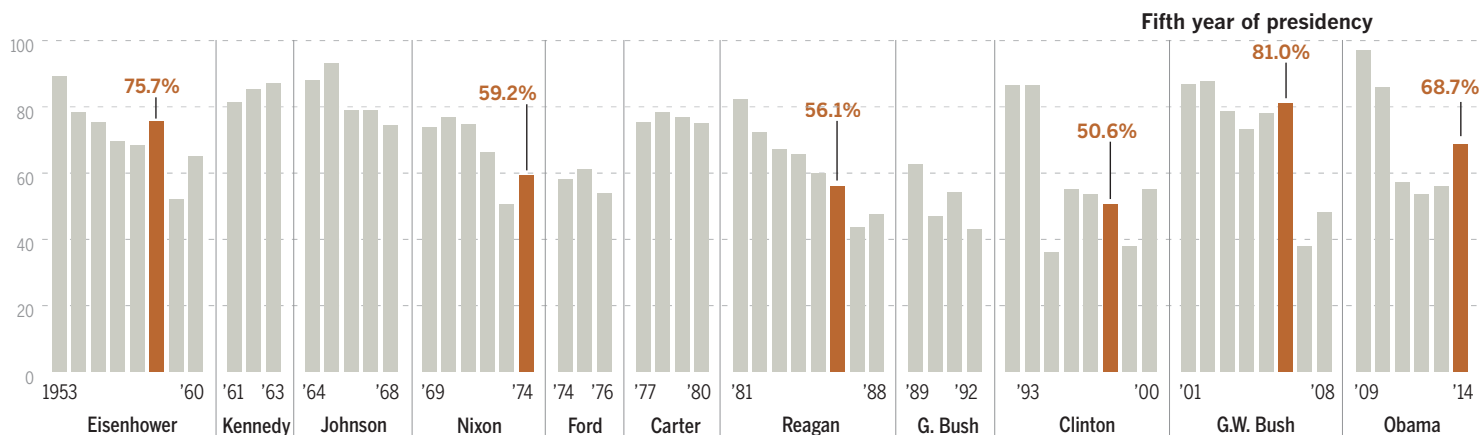
This time, Boehner and McConnell decided to back down before the shutdown, passing funding bills without the immigration provision. In 2013, “the House pursued a tactic that never made any sense, had no chance of success,” says Dent, who's in his sixth term representing Pennsylvania's old steel belt around Allentown and Bethlehem. “By the same token, I don't think this particular strategy ever had a chance of success either.”

But if 2016 proves to be a Democratic year, and Pennsylvanians feel ill-used by the GOP, history shows Dent's protests may not matter.

The fight over Homeland Security funding ended with legislation, but not the kind of compromise that McConnell had hoped for when he announced his plans for breaking the gridlock. His theory is that if he allows votes, not just on the floor but also in the committee process

Obama's Success Rate Rebounds in 2014

President Barack Obama's success rate on votes on which he took a clear position rose significantly in 2014, which is unusual for a president's sixth year. Obama won on just 15.2 percent of House votes — a record low. But in the Senate, Obama won on 93.1 percent of votes, boosted by a rule change that gave Democrats full control over nominations. The data in the graphic combine House and Senate figures.



that precedes it, amendments will make more bills palatable to more Democrats. They'll vote for the final legislation, and the bipartisanship will make it difficult for Obama to use his veto.

"We're not anxious to block anybody's amendment," McConnell said after taking over the Senate in January. "We're wide-open."

When the Senate debated Keystone that month, he was true to his word, allowing votes on 41 amendments. Several drew bipartisan support, and the final measure did as well. But it wasn't enough to get Obama to sign it; he issued his third veto as president. A Senate vote to override early this month fell five votes short of the 67 needed.

It might have turned out better for McConnell if the 67th-most conservative senator were a pragmatic moderate. In reality, the Republican caucus in the Senate, itself very conservative, will have to find liberal Democrats on most issues in order to pass bills and persuade a liberal Democrat in the White House to sign them. It won't happen often.

The near shutdown of the Homeland Security Department is a telling example of regular order's limits. Republican senators begged Democrats to begin debate on the department's funding bill, holding four separate votes last month to bring it to the floor. If only Democrats were willing to debate it and offer amendments, they might find the final product more palatable. But Democrats didn't buy that and preferred to embarrass their GOP counterparts. The result was a standstill followed by GOP capitulation.

POLARIZATION'S BENEFITS

It seems no one has figured out how to break through the combination of polarization and divided government.

"In no other democracy in the world do you see this kind of divided party government, at least not where you have polarized parties," says Alan Abramowitz, a political science professor at Emory University. "It just doesn't work. The normal assumption is that you elect a party or coalition and they govern."

Voters have shown impatience in recent elections. After years of relative stability, Democrats swept back into control in 2006, then Republicans bounced back in 2010 and 2014. In between, Obama won two elections. Still, Obama has enjoyed only two years in office during which his party controlled both chambers of Congress.

In 1950, the American Political Science Association, the profes-

sional society for political scientists, issued a landmark paper, "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System," arguing that greater polarization in the parties would actually be a good thing. At the time, it wasn't easy to distinguish politicians by their party label alone. Most Southern Democrats were more conservative than many Northern Republicans. On the main issues of the day, the fight against communism and support for an activist government role in managing the economy, most politicians agreed.

The result, the political scientists argued, was a less engaged citizenry that didn't want to put in the time to find out where particular politicians really stood. In turn, it was hard for voters to hold the parties accountable because votes on which members crossed party lines were not unusual. If things weren't going well in the country, it wasn't clear which party was to blame.

From that vantage point, the current levels of polarization are yielding some benefits. "Larger differences between the parties on salient issues tend to increase the level of engagement of voters and the stakes of the election," Abramowitz says. He points out that, by most survey measures, Americans are more interested in politics than they were a generation ago, more people are taking an active role in campaigns and the number of voters is also trending up a bit.

The Congressional Research Service, in a mammoth report on the state of Congress issued in December, pointed out some of polarization's benefits from a different angle. Walter J. Oleszek, a senior specialist in American national government, wrote that lawmakers too willing to deal make compromises that "can produce inadequate laws that reflect the lowest common denominator of legislating." By contrast, he noted, "partisan stalemates can prevent mistakes that could occur if bills were passed without adequate deliberation."

Republicans argue that Democratic hegemony in 2009-10 made it possible for Congress to enact a deeply flawed law with the health care overhaul.

But with Congress struggling to even perform its most basic function of funding government agencies, the gridlock in Washington doesn't feel like a good thing. In 1950, the political scientists figured that strong parties would be all the more eager to please the voters and would engage in reasoned debate with the opposition to enact legislation. But reasoned debate seems to be the exception, rather than the rule, in Washington today. ■

Leading Scorers: Presidential Support

Support indicates those who, in 2014, voted most often for President Barack Obama's position when it was clearly known. **Opposition** shows those who voted most often against his position. Scores are reported only to one decimal point; members with identical scores are listed alphabetically. (Complete scores, House p. 34-35, Senate p. 36)

SENATE



DURBIN



COLLINS



MANCHIN



RISCH

SUPPORT

Democrats

Durbin, Richard J.	100
Kaine, Tim	100
Carper, Thomas R.	99.3
Feinstein, Dianne	99.3
Hirono, Mazie K.	99.3
Johnson, Tim	99.3
Klobuchar, Amy	99.3
Leahy, Patrick J.	99.3
Bennet, Michael	99.2
Coons, Chris	99.2
Levin, Carl	99.2
Udall, Mark	99.2
Warner, Mark	99.2
Rockefeller, Jay	99

Republicans

Collins, Susan	74.4
Murkowski, Lisa	72.7
Alexander, Lamar	68.3
Corker, Bob	67.1
Kirk, Mark S.	66.4
Chambliss, Saxby	65.6
Hatch, Orrin G.	65.4
Coats, Dan	64.7
Ayotte, Kelly	63.8
Isakson, Johnny	63.8
Flake, Jeff	63.1
Portman, Rob	63.1

OPPOSITION

Democrats

Manchin, Joe III	10.6
Heitkamp, Heidi	4.9
Reid, Harry*	4.9
Walsh, John	4.4
Gillibrand, Kirsten	4.3
Landrieu, Mary L.	4.2
Tester, Jon	3.6
Warren, Elizabeth	3.5
Pryor, Mark	3.2
Begich, Mark	3.1

Republicans

Risch, Jim	54.2
Roberts, Pat	54.1
Crapo, Michael D.	51.8
Shelby, Richard C.	51.1
Coburn, Tom	49.6
Lee, Mike	49.3
Vitter, David	49.3
Cruz, Ted	49.0
Barrasso, John	48.0
Moran, Jerry	48.0
Inhofe, James M.	47.6
Enzi, Michael B.	47.3
Paul, Rand	47.3
Boozman, John	47.0
Rubio, Marco	47.0

*Reid voted against the president's position seven times in 2014 to preserve his right to reconsider the vote.

HOUSE



KILDEE



GIBSON



PETERSON



JORDAN

SUPPORT

Democrats

Kildee, Dan	96.9
Price, David E.	96.9
Wasserman Schultz, Debbie	96.7
Bonamici, Suzanne	95.4
Hoyer, Steny H.	95.4
Thompson, Mike	95.4
Carson, Andre	95.3
Chu, Judy	95.3
Conyers, John Jr.	95.3
Davis, Susan A.	95.3
Johnson, Hank	95.3
Pelosi, Nancy	95.3
Schakowsky, Jan	95.3
Crowley, Joseph	95.2
Bass, Karen	94.9
Dingell, John D.	94.8

Republicans

Gibson, Chris	36.3
Jones, Walter B.	33.9
Radel, Trey	25
LoBiondo, Frank A.	22.7
Fitzpatrick, Michael G.	20.3
Amash, Justin	20
Smith, Christopher H.	20
Hanna, Richard	18.7
Ros-Lehtinen, Ileana	17.7
Grimm, Michael G.	17.1
Diaz-Balart, Mario	16.9
Herrera Beutler, Jaime	16.9

OPPOSITION

Democrats

Peterson, Collin C.	83.4
McIntyre, Mike	78.5
Barrow, John	77.3
Matheson, Jim	74.7
Rahall, Nick J. II	69.7
Cuellar, Henry	55.4
Gallego, Pete	50.0
Murphy, Patrick	50.0
Barber, Ron	43.8
Owens, Bill	43.8
Sinema, Kyrsten	43.1
Garcia, Joe	39.4
Maffei, Dan	39.4
Peters, Scott	39.4
Ruiz, Raul	38.8

Republicans

Jordan, Jim	98.5
Salmon, Matt	98.5
Duncan, Jeff	97.0
Huelskamp, Tim	97.0
Gosar, Paul	96.3
DesJarlais, Scott	95.8
DeSantis, Ron	95.4
Meadows, Mark	95.4
Posey, Bill	95.4
Williams, Roger	95.0
Bentivolio, Kerry	95.0
Bridenstine, Jim	94.0
Burgess, Michael C.	94.0
Fleming, John	94.0
Garrett, Scott	94.0
Harris, Andy	94.0

Presidential Support Background

CQ Roll Call editors select presidential support votes each year based on clear statements by the president or authorized spokesmen. **Success** scores show the percentage of the selected votes on which the president prevailed. **Support** shows the percentage of roll call votes on which members of Congress voted in agreement with the president's position.

Presidential Success by Issues

	Defense/Foreign Policy		Domestic		Economic Affairs		Overall	
	2014	2013	2014	2013	2014	2013	2014	2013
House	11.1%	7.1%	19.5%	20.8%	6.3%	31.6%	15.2%	20.9%
Senate	--	75.0	54.5	73.7	55.6	71.4	55.0	85.2
Congress	11.1	22.2	26.9	34.7	24.0	48.5	24.4	56.7

Economic affairs includes votes on taxes, trade, omnibus and some supplemental spending bills, which may fund both domestic and defense and foreign policy programs. Confirmation votes in the Senate are included only in the chamber's overall scores.

Average Presidential Support Scores

	House		Senate			House		Senate	
	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats	Republicans		Democrats	Republicans	Democrats	Republicans
Eisenhower					Reagan				
1954	44%	71%	38%	73%	1981	42%	68%	49%	80%
1955	53	60	56	72	1982	39	64	43	74
1956	52	72	39	72	1983	28	70	42	73
1957	49	54	51	69	1984	34	60	41	76
1958	44	67	44	67	1985	30	67	35	75
1959	40	68	38	72	1986	25	65	37	78
1960	44	59	43	66	1987	24	62	36	64
Kennedy					G. Bush				
1961	73	37	65	36	1989	36	69	55	82
1962	72	42	63	39	1990	25	63	38	70
1963	72	32	63	44	1991	34	72	41	83
Johnson					Clinton				
1964	74	38	61	45	1992	25	71	32	73
1965	74	41	64	48	1993				
1966	63	37	57	43	1993	77	39	87	29
1967	69	46	61	53	1994	75	47	86	42
1968	64	51	48	47	1995	75	22	81	29
Nixon					1996				
1969	48	57	47	66	1996	74	38	83	37
1970	53	66	45	60	1997	71	30	85	60
1971	47	72	40	64	1998	74	26	82	41
1972	47	64	44	66	1999	73	23	84	34
1973	35	62	37	61	2000	73	27	89	46
1974	46	65	39	57	G.W. Bush				
Ford					2001	31	86	66	94
1974	41	51	39	55	2002	32	82	71	89
1975	38	63	47	68	2003	26	89	48	94
1976	32	63	39	62	2004	30	80	60	91
Carter					2005	24	81	38	86
1977	63	42	70	52	2006	31	85	51	85
1978	60	36	66	41	2007	7	72	37	78
1979	64	34	68	47	2008	16	64	34	70
1980	63	40	62	45	Obama				
					2009	90	26	92	50
					2010	84	29	94	41
					2011	80	22	92	53
					2012	77	17	93	47
					2013	83	12	96	40
					2014	81	12	95	55

2014 Presidential Position Votes

The following is a list of the 66 House and 145 Senate roll call votes in 2014 on which the president took a clear position, based on his statements or those of authorized spokespersons. A victory is a vote on which the president's position prevailed.

HOUSE

Defense and Foreign Policy

VOTE NUMBER	DESCRIPTION
1 Victory	
507	Defense policy

8 Defeats

185	Detainee policy
233	Detainee policy
240	Defense spending
254	Detainee policy
321	Detainee policy
323	Detainee policy
324	Detainee policy
338	Defense spending

Domestic Policy

VOTE NUMBER DESCRIPTION

8 Victories

21	Omnibus spending
31	Farm bill
230	Domestic surveillance
378	Job training
414	Transportation policy
509	Continuing Resolution spending
561	Omnibus spending
563	Omnibus spending

33 Defeats

10	Environmental regulation
11	Health care
23	Health care
30	Health care
50	Water policy
54	Public lands
78	Regulatory policy
97	Health care
106	Regulatory policy
113	Regulatory policy
124	Executive power
129	Executive power
135	Health care
141	Environmental regulation
156	Health care
288	Domestic spending
297	Domestic spending
354	Energy policy
402	Domestic spending
461	Environmental regulation
463	Environmental regulation
468	Executive power
478	Immigration
489	Water policy
495	Health care
515	Energy policy
519	Energy policy
525	Environmental regulation
526	Environmental regulation
528	Environmental regulation
531	Environmental regulation
550	Immigration
553	Water policy

Economic Affairs and Trade

VOTE NUMBER DESCRIPTION

1 Victory

562	Tax policy
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15 Defeats

69	Tax policy
85	Regulatory policy
90	Regulatory policy
211	Tax policy
309	Tax policy
311	Tax policy
349	Regulatory policy
404	Tax policy
411	Regulatory policy
412	Regulatory policy
427	Regulatory policy
432	Tax policy
449	Tax policy
451	Tax policy
513	Regulatory policy

House Success

Victories	10
Defeats	56
Total	66
Success rate	15.2%

SENATE

Domestic Policy

VOTE
NUMBER DESCRIPTION

6 Victories

21	Farm bill
187	Veterans benefits
260	Workplace issues (cloture)
270	Domestic spending
280	Energy policy
354	Omnibus spending

5 Defeats

103	Workplace issues (cloture)
228	Health care (cloture)
252	Emergency spending
262	Workplace issues (cloture)
282	Domestic surveillance (cloture)

Economic Affairs and Trade

VOTE
NUMBER DESCRIPTION

5 Victories

13	Omnibus spending
90	Unemployment benefits
101	Unemployment benefits
214	Job Training
231	Terrorism insurance

4 Defeats

10	Unemployment benefits (cloture)
24	Unemployment benefits (cloture)
117	Minimum wage (cloture)
185	Student loans (cloture)

Nominations

124 Victories

1	Janet L. Yellen
7	Robert Wilkins
25	Max Baucus
27	Richard Stengel
28	Sarah Sewall
29	Charles Hammerman Rivkin
30	Tina S. Kaidanow
31	Daniel Bennett Smith
32	Catherine Ann Novelli
37	Jeffrey Meyer
39	James Maxwell Moody, Jr.
41	James Donato
43	Beth Labson Freeman
47	Michael L. Connor
50	Pedro A. Hernandez
52	Pamela L. Reeves
54	Timothy L. Brooks
56	Vince Girdhari Chhabria
58	Rose E. Gottemoeller
67	Carolyn B. McHugh
68	Matthew Leitman
69	Judith Ellen Levy
70	Laurie J. Michelson
71	Linda Vivienne Parker
76	Caroline Diane Krass
84	Christopher Reid Cooper
85	M. Douglas Harpool
86	Gerald McHugh, Jr.
87	Edward G. Smith
91	John B. Owens
94	Kevin Whitaker
95	John P. Carlin
102	Neil Gregory Kornze
104	Wanda Felton
105	Terrell McSweeney
108	Michelle T. Friedland
110	David Weil
118	Sheryl H. Lipman
119	Stanley Bastian
120	Manish S. Shah
121	Daniel D. Crabtree
122	Cynthia Ann Bashant
123	Jon David Levy
127	Theodore David Chuang

128	George Jarrod Hazel
129	Janice Marion Schneider
130	Nancy L. Moritz
137	Indira Talwani
138	James D. Peterson
139	Nancy J. Rosenstengel
141	Robin S. Rosenbaum
147	Steven Paul Logan
148	Joseph Tuchi
149	Diane J. Humetewa
153	Rosemary Marquez
154	Douglas L. Rayes
155	James Alan Soto
158	Gregg Jeffrey Costa
160	Stanley Fischer
162	David Jeremiah Barron
165	Keith M. Harper
167	Sharon Y. Bowen
171	Mark G. Mastroianni
172	Bruce Hendricks
173	Tanya S. Chutkan
175	Sylvia Mathews Burwell
179	M. Hannah Lauck
180	Leo T. Sorokin
181	Richard Franklin Boulware II
188	Crystal Nix-Hines
189	Lael Brainard
190	Jerome H. Powell
191	Stanley Fischer
195	Salvador Mendoza, Jr.
196	Staci Michelle Yandle
197	Darrin P. Gayles
199	Peter Joseph Kadzik
201	Gustavo Velasquez Aguilar
206	Paul G. Byron
207	Carlos Mendoza
208	Beth Bloom
209	Geoffrey Crawford
211	Leon Rodriguez
216	Stuart E. Jones
217	Cheryl Ann Krause
219	Julian Castro
221	Shaun L. S. Donovan
224	Norman C. Bay
225	Cheryl A. LaFleur

Senate Success

Victories	135
Defeats	10
Total	145
Success rate	93.1%
Success rate without nominations	55.0%

227	Ronnie L. White
233	Julie E. Carnes
237	Andre Birotte, Jr.
238	Robin L. Rosenberg
239	John W. deGravelles
242	Pamela Harris
243	Robert Alan McDonald
257	Jill A. Pryor
258	Henry J. Aaron
265	Jeffery Baran
266	Stephen G. Burns
267	John R. Bass
273	Randolph D. Moss
274	Leigh Martin May
281	Leslie Joyce Abrams
288	Pamela Pepper
289	Brenda K. Sannes
290	Victor Allen Bolden
293	Noah Bryson Mamet
294	Colleen Bradley Bell
297	Nani A. Coloretto
298	Robert S. Adler
301	Charlotte A. Burrows
302	P. David Lopez
308	Joseph S. Hezir
312	Joseph F. Leeson, Jr.
316	Jeffery Martin Baran
317	Lauren McGarity McFerran
320	Virginia Tyler Lodge
321	Ronald Walter
326	David Nathan Saperstein
356	Vivek Hallegere Murthy
360	Sarah R. Saldana
362	Antony Blinken
366	Stephen R. Bough

1 Defeat

48	Debo P. Adegbile (cloture)
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IN THE HOUSE

1. Presidential Support. Percentage of recorded votes cast in 2014 in which President Barack Obama took a position and on which the member voted “yea” or “nay” in agreement with the president’s position. Failure to vote does not lower an individual’s score.

2. Presidential Opposition. Percentage of recorded votes cast in 2014 in which President Barack Obama took a position and on which the member voted “yea” or “nay” in disagreement with the president’s position. Failure to vote does not lower an individual’s score.

3. Participation in Presidential Support Votes. Percentage of recorded votes cast in 2014 on which President Barack Obama took a position and for which the member was eligible and present, and voted “yea” or “nay.” There were a total of 66 such recorded votes in the House.

*The speaker votes at his discretion. Boehner voted on four presidential support votes in this session.

¹Rep. Curt Clawson, R-Fla., was sworn in Jun. 25, 2014 to fill the seat vacated by Republican Trey Radel, who resigned Jan. 27. Radel was eligible for 4 presidential support votes in 2014. Clawson was eligible for 30 presidential support votes in 2014.

²Donald Norcross, D-N.J., was sworn in Nov. 12, 2014, to fill the seat vacated by Democrat Robert E. Andrews, who resigned Feb. 18. Andrews was eligible for 8 presidential support votes in 2014. Norcross was eligible for 10 presidential support votes in 2014.

³Rep. Dave Brat, R-Va., was sworn in Nov. 12, 2014, to fill the seat vacated by Republican Eric Cantor, who resigned Aug. 18. Cantor was eligible for 50 presidential support votes in 2014. Brat was eligible for 10 presidential support votes in 2014.

	1	2	3
ALABAMA			
1 Byrne	11	89	92
2 Roby	14	86	100
3 Rogers	12	88	100
4 Aderholt	12	88	91
5 Brooks	8	92	98
6 Bachus	16	84	94
7 Sewell	88	12	98
ALASKA			
AL Young	14	86	97
ARIZONA			
1 Kirkpatrick	76	24	94
2 Barber	56	44	97
3 Grijalva	88	12	98
4 Gosar	4	96	80
5 Salmon	2	98	98
6 Schweikert	6	94	98
7 Pastor	92	8	89
8 Franks	8	92	97
9 Sinema	57	43	98
ARKANSAS			
1 Crawford	11	89	92
2 Griffin	14	86	98
3 Womack	14	86	100
4 Cotton	9	91	100
CALIFORNIA			
1 LaMalfa	11	89	97
2 Huffman	94	6	100
3 Garamendi	69	31	97
4 McClintock	6	94	97
5 Thompson	95	4	100
6 Matsui	92	8	98
7 Bera	67	33	100
8 Cook	12	88	98
9 McNerney	82	18	98
10 Denham	17	83	100
11 Miller, George	91	9	98
12 Pelosi	95	5	97
13 Lee	90	10	95
14 Speier	89	11	95
15 Swalwell	88	12	100
16 Costa	62	38	95
17 Honda	89	11	95
18 Eshoo	91	9	98
19 Lofgren	89	11	100
20 Farr	92	8	100
21 Valadao	17	83	100
22 Nunes	14	86	100
23 McCarthy	14	86	100
24 Capps	88	12	100
25 McKeon	15	85	94
26 Brownley	67	33	100
27 Chu	95	5	97
28 Schiff	94	6	98
29 Cardenas	88	12	98
30 Sherman	92	8	100
31 Miller, Gary	8	92	61
32 Napolitano	94	6	98
33 Waxman	92	8	95
34 Becerra	92	8	98
35 Negrete McLeod	80	20	77
36 Ruiz	61	39	94
37 Bass	95	5	89
38 Sánchez, Linda	92	8	91
39 Royce	12	88	98
40 Roybal-Allard	92	8	100
41 Takano	89	11	100
42 Calvert	14	86	97
43 Waters	89	11	95
44 Hahn	91	9	100
45 Campbell	14	86	64
46 Sanchez, Loretta	77	23	97
47 Lowenthal	89	11	100
48 Rohrabacher	11	89	100
49 Issa	12	88	100
50 Hunter	11	89	100
51 Vargas	88	12	100
52 Peters	61	39	100
53 Davis	95	5	98
COLORADO			
1 DeGette	94	6	98

2 Polis	88	12	91
3 Tipton	8	92	95
4 Gardner	11	89	97
5 Lamborn	8	92	100
6 Coffman	12	88	100
7 Perlmutter	90	10	95
CONNECTICUT			
1 Larson	86	14	97
2 Courtney	89	11	95
3 DeLauro	89	11	97
4 Himes	92	8	98
5 Esty	82	18	98
DELAWARE			
AL Carney	93	7	89
FLORIDA			
1 Miller	10	90	95
2 Southerland	14	86	100
3 Yoho	9	91	100
4 Crenshaw	14	86	100
5 Brown	91	9	100
6 DeSantis	5	95	98
7 Mica	12	88	100
8 Posey	5	95	98
9 Grayson	91	9	98
10 Webster	14	86	97
11 Nugent	8	92	98
12 Bilirakis	14	86	98
13 Jolly	12	88	100
14 Castor	94	6	94
15 Ross	14	86	98
16 Buchanan	16	84	95
17 Rooney	11	89	98
18 Murphy	50	50	100
19 Radel¹	25	75	100
19 Clawson¹	10	90	100
20 Hastings	90	10	94
21 Deutch	94	6	98
22 Frankel	89	11	97
23 Wasserman Schultz	97	3	92
24 Wilson	92	8	97
25 Diaz-Balart	17	83	98
26 Garcia	61	39	100
27 Ros-Lehtinen	18	82	94
GEORGIA			
1 Kingston	11	89	83
2 Bishop	62	38	95
3 Westmoreland	10	90	94
4 Johnson	95	5	97
5 Lewis	90	10	91
6 Price	11	89	98
7 Woodall	15	85	98
8 Scott, A.	6	94	98
9 Collins	11	89	98
10 Broun	9	91	98
11 Gingrey	10	90	95
12 Barrow	23	77	100
13 Scott, D.	88	12	97
14 Graves	12	88	100
HAWAII			
1 Hanabusa	81	19	80
2 Gabbard	82	18	94
IDAHO			
1 Labrador	14	86	95
2 Simpson	12	88	100
ILLINOIS			
1 Rush	89	11	56
2 Kelly	91	9	100
3 Lipinski	71	29	100
4 Gutierrez	92	8	94
5 Quigley	92	8	95
6 Roskam	14	86	100
7 Davis, D.	88	12	97
8 Duckworth	83	17	82
9 Schakowsky	95	5	98
10 Schneider	67	33	95
11 Foster	83	17	98
12 Enyart	64	36	97
13 Davis, R.	14	86	97
14 Hultgren	12	88	100
15 Shimkus	14	86	100
16 Kinzinger	14	86	100

KEY **Republicans** Democrats Independents

IN THE SENATE

1. Presidential Support. Percentage of recorded votes cast in 2015 in which President Barack Obama took a position and on which the member voted “yea” or “nay” in agreement with the president’s position. Failure to vote does not lower an individual’s score.

2. Presidential Opposition. Percentage of recorded votes cast in 2015 in which President Barack Obama took a position and on which the member voted “yea” or “nay” in disagreement with the president’s position. Failure to vote does not lower an individual’s score.

3. Participation in Presidential Support Votes. Percentage of recorded votes cast in 2015 on which President Barack Obama took a position and for which the member was eligible and present, and voted “yea” or “nay.” There were a total of 145 such recorded votes in the Senate.

	1	2	3
ALABAMA			
Shelby	49	51	100
Sessions	53	47	97
ALASKA			
Murkowski	73	27	94
Begich	97	3	90
ARIZONA			
McCain	58	42	99
Flake	63	37	99
ARKANSAS			
Pryor	97	3	88
Boozman	53	47	78
CALIFORNIA			
Feinstein	99	1	99
Boxer	98	2	93
COLORADO			
Udall	99	1	95
Bennet	99	1	97
CONNECTICUT			
Blumenthal	98	2	99
Murphy	99	1	100
DELAWARE			
Carper	99	1	99
Coons	99	1	97
FLORIDA			
Nelson	99	1	96
Rubio	53	47	90
GEORGIA			
Chambliss	66	34	88
Isakson	64	36	97
HAWAII			
Schatz	98	2	88
Hirono	99	1	100
IDAHO			
Crapo	48	52	100
Risch	46	54	99
ILLINOIS			
Durbin	100	0	99
Kirk	66	34	99
INDIANA			
Coats	65	35	98
Donnelly	97	3	99
IOWA			
Grassley	57	43	100
Harkin	99	1	95
KANSAS			
Roberts	46	54	94
Moran	52	48	83
KENTUCKY			
McConnell	55	45	99
Paul	53	47	99
LOUISIANA			
Landrieu	96	4	83
Vitter	51	49	90
MAINE			
Collins	74	26	100
King	96	4	99
MARYLAND			
Mikulski	98	2	99
Cardin	99	1	99
MASSACHUSETTS			
Warren	97	3	99
Markey	97	3	99
MICHIGAN			
Stabenow	99	1	99
Levin	99	1	95
MINNESOTA			
Klobuchar	99	1	100
Franken	99	1	100
MISSISSIPPI			
Cochran	62	38	68
Wicker	61	39	95
MISSOURI			
McCaskill	98	2	90
Blunt	57	43	93
MONTANA			
Baucus ¹	100	0	54
Walsh ¹	96	4	100
Tester	96	4	98
NEBRASKA			
Johanns	62	38	92
Fischer	57	43	100
NEVADA			
Reid	95	5	99
Heller	61	39	99
NEW HAMPSHIRE			
Shaheen	99	1	99
Ayotte	64	36	97
NEW JERSEY			
Menendez	98	2	99
Booker	97	3	97
NEW MEXICO			
Udall	99	1	100
Heinrich	97	3	99
NEW YORK			
Schumer	99	1	100
Gillibrand	96	4	98
NORTH CAROLINA			
Burr	58	42	96
Hagan	99	1	97
NORTH DAKOTA			
Hoeven	60	40	100
Heitkamp	95	5	99
OHIO			
Brown	99	1	99
Portman	63	37	99
OKLAHOMA			
Inhofe	52	48	99
Coburn	50	50	79
OREGON			
Wyden	98	2	100
Merkley	99	1	97
PENNSYLVANIA			
Casey	98	2	95
Toomey	56	44	96
RHODE ISLAND			
Reed	99	1	98
Whitehouse	99	1	99
SOUTH CAROLINA			
Graham	60	40	94
Scott	54	46	97
SOUTH DAKOTA			
Thune	56	44	99
Johnson	99	1	99
TENNESSEE			
Alexander	68	32	94
Corker	67	33	94
TEXAS			
Cornyn	57	43	95
Cruz	51	49	94
UTAH			
Hatch	65	35	98
Lee	51	49	95
VERMONT			
Leahy	99	1	99
Sanders	94	6	96
VIRGINIA			
Warner	99	1	98
Kaine	100	0	99
WASHINGTON			
Murray	99	1	100
Cantwell	98	2	100
WEST VIRGINIA			
Rockefeller	99	1	77
Manchin	89	11	98
WISCONSIN			
Johnson	54	46	99
Baldwin	99	1	99
WYOMING			
Enzi	53	47	99
Barrasso	52	48	99

¹Sen. John Walsh, D-Mont., was sworn in Feb. 11, 2014 to fill the seat vacated by Democrat Max Baucus, who resigned Feb. 6. Baucus was eligible for 11 presidential support votes in 2014. Walsh was eligible for 138 presidential support votes in 2014.